1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 put the rebels down by military force. He increased the harshness of the laws and exiled thousands of peasants to the ba[illegible] region in order to glorify himself.[18]

This was the historical frame when the Monguor clans settled in the region of Hsining during the Yuan dynasty and when they submitted to the Ming dynasty as defenders of the marches in conjunction with the military colonists, their chiefs becoming Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu, in a country open to the forays and inroads of hostile tribes. In these conditions the Ming proposed to colonize the country.

SETTLEMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF MONGUOR CLANS IN KANSU

618 I use the term "clan" here to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have nevertheless adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen during the time that they were integrated into the group.

The current saying in the prefecture of Hsining and the sub-prefecture of Nienpei is that there are sixteen clans of Monguors. According to the *Annals* of Kansu, there are six clans in the prefecture of Hsining, and ten in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei.

618 1. The Ch'i clan, whose chief is recorded as being a
175 true descendant of the imperial family of the Mongol
•162 dynasty.[19] Under this dynasty the Chief of the Ch'i clan was always an important official in Kansu, and on the fall of the dynasty the Ch'i T'u-ssu was the first of all the T'u-ssu to submit to the Ming dynasty in 1368, the year of its establishment.

At that time the Ch'i clan numbered eight hundred families of Monguor stock, divided into four sub-clans. In 1644, on the fall of the Ming dynasty, this clan submitted to the Manchu dynasty. It then numbered only seven hundred families, divided into eight sub-clans (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 35*a–b*, 36*a*). The territory assigned to them was situated thirty-five miles south of Hsining and they lived in numerous villages.

2. The Ch'eng clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is the only one of Chinese extraction, the founding ancestor having been born in Shanyang in the province of Chiangnan.[20] His father, who had been an official under the Mongol dynasty, joined the Chinese popular rising against the Mongols. The son, who followed in his father's footsteps, was rewarded with the title and office of T'u-ssu in 1374 and received 120 Monguor families as his subjects. The territory assigned to his clan is

[18] Homer H. Dubs, Wang Mang and his economic reforms, *T'oung-pao* 35 : 230–231, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1940.

[19] Ch'i is the Chinese clan name (*hsing*) adopted by the descendants of the Kiyut, a sept of the Borjigit, the clan of Chingis Khan.—O. L.

[20] Now the two provinces of Anhui and Kiangsu.—O. L.

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1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 seventeen miles north of Hsining and includes seven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 26*b*, 37*a–b*).

175 3. The Li clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor, a prominent official in
• 162 Hsining under the Mongol dynasty, submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. As a faithful official of the Ming dynasty, he was granted the title of Earl of Kaoyang (Kaoyang Po), the third rank of nobility, for military services rendered to the empire. One of his successors, the T'u-ssu Li Shih-hsien, died in 1427 fighting against Mongol invaders. In 1643 the T'u-ssu Li Hung-hsien, his wife, and 120 men of his family were killed when they refused to surrender to the Chinese peasant rebels whose insurrection opened the way to the Manchu conquest of China.

This clan numbered 963 families originally, living in forty-eight villages, ten miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 38*b*, 39*a–b*).

4. The Na clan. The Na T'u-ssu is said to be of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming in 1371. The clan numbered only 150 families of Shat'o (Monguors), living in 8 villages three miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 39*b*, 40*a*).

5. The Wang clan. The Wang T'u-ssu, of Monguor stock, submitted to the Ming in 1371. This clan numbered 130 families of Monguor extraction and 18 Tibetan families, living ten miles west of Hsining scattered in eleven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 40*b*, 41*a–b*).

6. The Chi clan. Said to be of Shat'o extraction. The founding ancestor submitted in 1371. The clan included 90 families, living twenty miles west of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 42). About 1875 the T'u-ssu was impeached by his subjects. The Chinese authorities erased his name from the list of T'u-ssu, and the clan passed under direct Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not record this fact.

In the sub-prefecture of Nienpei live ten clans:

1. The Ch'i clan. This clan is not the same as the clan of the same name in Hsining. Its chief is not a descendant of the Mongol imperial family of the Yüan, but is of Monguor stock. His ancestors were among the most influential frontier officials during the Mongol dynasty. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. This clan numbered 700 families of Monguor extraction. The chief lives one mile and a half north of the city of Nienpei. His subjects are scattered in many villages at varying distances from Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 44*b*, 45, 46).

2. The Li Nan-ko clan, of Shat'o stock. In the *Annals* the T'u-ssu is said to be a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son founded the dynasty of the Hou T'ang. His son in turn, Li Wen, is recorded as the T'u-ssu of Hsining. This clan numbered 4,000 families of Shat'o stock, living in eight villages or valleys forty miles southeast of Nienpei. Huc

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and Gabet, Potanin, and Rockhill visited Sanch'uan where the mansion of the chief of the clan is located. The son of Li Nan-ko, Li Ying, was granted the title of Earl of Huining (Huining Po), the third rank of nobility, as a reward for military services (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 47, 48). This and the following clan are independent of each other. Each has its own T'u-ssu, and both were recognized under the Manchu dynasty as separate units.

3. The Li Hua-nao clan, also of Shat'o extraction, comprising only 100 families in 1655. The T'u-ssu lives in the city of Nienpei, and his subjects are scattered in villages to the south (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 53). The founding ancestor of this line was made a T'u-ssu only in 1655, in the early years of the Manchu dynasty, and was an offshoot of the line of Li Nan-ko. For some reason not noted in the *Annals* he received from his father or his brother 100 out of the 4,000 families of the original clan and was made a T'u-ssu.

4. The Chao T'u-ssu clan, which submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1370. This clan is of Monguor extraction. Under the Mongol dynasty it moved to Nienpei, after having lived in Mingchou, and was settled fifteen miles north of the city. The clan numbered 120 families, scattered along the valley (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48–49). At an unknown date and for an unknown reason the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of the T'u-ssu and his subjects passed under ordinary Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not mention the fact.

5. The Ah clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 150 families, and lives seventeen miles east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 49–50).

6. The Kan clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 300 families. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. The clan is settled 75 miles southeast of Nienpei in the valley of Mo Tou (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*–52).

7. The Chou clan, of Monguor stock, numbered only 62 families. It adjoins the Kan clan, living seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*, 52).

8. The Yeh clan, a small clan of Muslim families of Turkish stock originating from Sinkiang. The Chinese called them Ch'ant'ou or Turbaned Heads. (See above, p. 34.) They settled in the country under the Mongol dynasty. As a military commander the founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371, together with the other T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu of this line were eager defenders of the Ming frontier; two of them died in battle, one in 1570, one in 1638. They were settled in the Mila valley forty miles southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 52, 53). About 1890 the name of the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of T'u-ssu and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects. The fact is not mentioned in the *Annals*.

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9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24. They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addition, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu, of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Liench'eng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

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624 175 to the Ming dynasty in 1371 as "founding ancestor" of the present line, and received the most extensive territory of all the Monguor T'u-ssu. The group numbered, according to the *Annals* of 1909, 3,245 families totalling 21,080 persons, and was divided administratively into ten banners. After the historic revolt of the Kukunor Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas, in 1723, the T'u-ssu was rewarded for his military services with the territory and inhabitants of thirteen Tibetan villages, which had belonged to a Mongol chief of Kukunor. These thirteen villages numbered 453 families, totalling 2,365 persons, at a rate of 5.2 persons per family (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87). This group is the most outstanding among the Monguor people. Many members of these T'u-ssu families were prominent military commanders and civil officials. They wielded the largest influence in the country among the Chinese officials, and were favorably regarded by the emperors of both the Ming and Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasties.

MONGUOR POPULATION FIGURES

161 The Manguor population data at the time of the Ming, taken from the *Annals* of Kansu, printed in 1909, may be summarized as follows.

Total of families ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu, 11,000

Families of Monguors belonging to 9 Mongol T'u-ssu, 5,627

Families of Shat'o Monguors belonging to the 5 Shat'o T'u-ssu, 5,303

Families of Ch'ant'ou extraction belonging to one Ch'ant'ou T'u-ssu, 70

The number of families belonging to the Monguor La T'u-ssu is not recorded. Taking a rate of five members per family, which seems not to be too high, the number of Monguors living in Old Huang Chung would be 55,000. Adding the 471 Tibetan families ruled by the Lu T'u-ssu and Wang T'u-ssu gives a total of 57,365 ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu.

162 Striking differences in importance and strength among the clans are to be noted: the Lu clan alone ruled 3,699 families (3,246 Monguor, 453 Tibetan), and the three Shat'o Li T'u-ssu ruled 4,963 families. Then there is a sharp drop to the two Ch'i clans with 700 families each, and the remaining clans are insignificant.

It has already been noted that in each of the Monguor clans there are a few Chinese and Tibetan families, which were enrolled at different times.

EXPANSION OF THE MONGUORS OVER THE COUNTRY

175 According to the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55, and the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 14*b*, the population of Hsining was very thin at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The fields around the towns, irrigated by canals, were assigned to the Chinese military colonists.

[p. 33a]

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Introduction

101 This study deals with marriage among the T'ou-jen /T'u-jen/ of Kansu. The T'ou-jen in question occupy the north side of Sining River, in the prefecture of Sining and the subprefecture of P'ing-fan (Lien-tch'eng).

114 We hope to have this monograph followed by others, which will deal with the history of the T'ou-jen, their religious, social, and political life. Our sources for the history of this people are the great history of China, the chronicles of the towns of Kansu, and the family chronicles of one of the most powerful T'ou-jen groups, which extend over a period of more than five hundred years; our sources for the ethnology are the notes collected during the course of about ten years spent in T'ou-jen country.

44 162 Of the T'ou-jen of whom we write one group is very probably of Turkish race, and the other, without doubt, as of Mongol race. The first, of the clan of Li t'ou-se, are said to be /2/ originally Cha-t'ouo /Sha-t'o/ (1) who immigrated to the region in the T'ang period

> 1. Aur. Stein, Serindia, Vol. 2, p. 1129: Kao-chu-hui, when describing the journey along this border, of the Chinese mission which started from Khotan in 938, tells us: Kan-chow is the camping place of the Hui-ho (Uigurs). The mountains which are about 100 li to the south (direction of Si-ning; the principal habitat of the T'ou-jen is four days from Kan-chow /Kan-tcheou/) are the territory where in the time of the Han dynasty there resided the ancient people called the little Yueh-chih. There is a race different from this people called Cha-t'ouo from the mountains of the deer forest. They are said to be descended from the Ch'u yueh race (ex. Rémusat, Ville de Khotan /City of Khotan/;

/2 cont'd/

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Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

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These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

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The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

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The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

NUMBER OF LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

Fantastic figures concerning the number of lamas are encountered in publications on the subject.[1a] Concerning Huang-chung, we possess a census of lamas and lamaseries (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 6, 9, 10, 12) existing between 1729 and 1735. Although the census returns used are largely mere estimates, they seem to have at least a general reliability. However, because there is no comparable census of the secular population, it is impossible to determine the proportion of lamas to the male population at that time.

After the revolt of 1723, each lama was to be given a certain amount of wheat yearly, for his subsistence.[2] At the same time, the number of lamas to be allowed in the big monasteries was fixed at 300, and in the small monasteries at 10 or more. A register was kept by the official containing the name and age of each lama. Lamaseries which had more than the allotted number of lamas could only get support for 300 of them. Certainly Kumbum with 3,000 and Seerkok with 700, surpassed the quota, if not in 1730, without doubt later on. It may be supposed that in this period those of the larger lamaseries that were short of the number of lamas allowed made provision (through bribery) to have the largest possible number recorded. The total figure noted, according to the census, is 5,543 lamas, living in the four subprefectures of Hsining, Nien-pei, Ta-t'ung, and Kui-te, scattered among 77 lamaseries.

According to the situation in 1910 very few of the large monasteries reached the quota of 300 lamas, except Kumbum which is said to have had 3,000. Therefore, if we suppose that the total number of lamas in the four subprefectures reached 10,000, our estimate would certainly be sufficient. Regarding the excessive number of lamas in one lamasery, it must be borne in mind that the lamas are always prone to exaggerate; for instance, the number 3,000 for Kumbum is not the number of lamas dwelling in the monastery, but the number of parts or "shares" into which the gifts distributed to the lamas are divided. The distribution differs in each monastery. In Kumbum for instance, at each distribution each of the Living Buddhas receives 50 parts, as do the five Fa-t'ais; other officials receive 20, 10, and 5 parts, etc. In this way the actual number of lamas is reduced to 2,000.

At the time I lived at Kumbum the number of lamas

[1a] W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 215, cites with approval a Chinese estimate that for every family in Tibet there were three lamas.

[2] The census (1729–1735) records in the prefecture of Hsining 2,611 lamas. Each lama received yearly 1.6 *tan* of wheat; each of the 961 lamas of the subprefecture of Nien-pei received yearly 1.7 *tan* of wheat; each of the 1,331 lamas of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung received yearly 2.7 *tan* of barley; each of the 690 lamas of the subprefecture of Kuei-te received only 0.24 *tan* of barley. The 5,543 recorded lamas of the four subprefectures of Hsining received subsistence grants of 9,040 *tan* of grain as compensation for the taxes the 77 lamaseries were no longer allowed to collect after the revolt of 1723. *Annals* of Hsining 16: 6*b*, 9*a*, 10*a*, 12*a*.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

who attended the morning ceremonies in the central hall never exceeded 800 or 900, although all the inmates of the monastery had to attend the exercise. This fact led me to make inquiries, and this was the explanation given by the officials of the monastery, and confirmed by officials of other monasteries where the same rule exists. In 1779, only fifty years after the destruction of the lamaseries in Huang-chung and the fixing of the official census, the Panchen Lama on the way to Peking, where he died from smallpox, remained for a few months at Kumbum. "In Amdo were 50,000 lamas in all the monasteries whom he entertained with food, besides distributing alms of one 'san' to each monk." [3] To people conversant with the geography and history of the country, this number seems fantastic.

The most recent and reliable data concerning the figures of the lamas in the province of Ch'ing-hai were secured by Mr. Wang Wen-han in 1948.[4] He made his inquiries on the basis of the recent official census provided by the Min-cheng t'ing or "people's (local) government office." Since the establishment in 1928 of the province of Ch'ing-hai, which encompasses the whole of Kukunor, Yu-shu, and large territories around Kui-te and Ta-t'ung hsien, formerly considered as barbarian regions, 13 subprefectures have been established, in which there are 235 lamaseries having 26,534 lamas. In the remote barbarian Yu-shu only there are 99 lamaseries with 10,665 lamas. The entire population of the new province being 1,346,320 inhabitants of which 683,802 are males and 662,518 females, the proportion of lamas should be one for every 26 males. However, the computation is very confused, because of the lack of figures for the lama population in minor lamaseries and the addition of new territories, and it is impossible to find out the number of lamas in the former prefecture of Hsining, on which my own computation was based. The article by Mr. Wang gives a better insight into the number of lamas and their proportion in relation to the entire male population of the province, and one which is notably smaller than the proportion usually cited by travelers. Although all census returns are always an estimate, especially in the Orient, the study by Mr. Wang is very interesting, because for the very first time in history we have an approximate census of the population and of the lamas in 1948.

CENTERS FOR RECRUITING LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

San-ch'uan, the fertile territory assigned to the Li T'u-ssu during the Ming period, is renowned for the recruiting of lamas. A saying goes: *"Shan-hsi ti k'o-wa, San-ch'uan ti lama"* meaning, "Shan-hsi [province] is the most prolific in merchants, and San-ch'uan

[3] Sarat Chandra Dass, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 28, 1882.

[4] Wang Wen-han, Ch'ing-hai Meng-Tsang jen-ming chih tsung-chiao hsin-yang, in the review *Pien-chiang t'ung-hsun*, No. 1 : 1 and 2, 1948.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Huangchung is bounded on the north by the Chi Lien Shan, a range of lower mountains which constitutes the northern end of the Nan Shan range. Being less high and abrupt, it provides an easy access to the countries of Ninghsia, Ordos, and Mongolia. In order to prevent the junction of the barbarians of Mongolia with those of Huangchung, the Chinese General Ho Ch'u-ping, in 116 B.C. (Monguors I: 19) established the first colonies in Huangchung. It was along the natural depressions in the Chi Lien range that the Tibetans many times invaded the country of the Ninghsia, Ordos, and Shansi borders, and that Mongols made inroads from Ordos into Huangchung and Kokonor. On the south side no high mountains or large rivers separate Huangchung from Kokonor and Tibet, through which many roads provide access to Central Asia.

Geographically, Huangchung, bounded by the large Yellow River on the south and east, by low mountains on the north, and spreading wide open toward the southwest facing Kokonor and Tibet, seems to be a peninsula of Kokonor and Tibet protruding into China. Huangchung being more remote from the capital of the empire than East Kansu, the threat of inroads from the empire was apparently less imminent; and the importance of its trade being not comparable with that of the colonies situated in the corridor of West Kansu across the Nan Shan range, fewer colonies had been established there than in East Kansu. Every time rebellions or dynastic troubles occurred in China, the Tibetans of Kokonor helped their brothers of Huangchung destroy the colonies; however, as long as the empire was at peace and its military power intimidated the restless Tibetans, Chinese officials could proceed with collecting the tribute of horses from the tribes governed by their own chiefs, and the ways leading to Kokonor could be guarded.

The whole of Kansu, populated by barbarians, was for centuries considered as a colony and not as a province proper. Only in 1665 was the province of Kansu established, and even up to the Republic (1911) Kansu was ruled together with Shensi by a viceroy. Only since 1928 has the province of Ch'inghai been established, encompassing Huangchung and a part of Kokonor.

THE POPULATION OF HUANGCHUNG AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST BY THE MONGOLS

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE TANG PERIOD

In 1227 when the Mongols conquered Huangchung, the country was inhabited by depleted tribes of Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, without cohesion among them. The country had passed through the ordeal of centuries of wars, and the Chinese colonies had long since vanished.

The Tang dynasty (620–906) had been unable to

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

cope with the turbulent empire of the T'u-fan contemporaneously founded in Lhasa, whose floods of untamed hordes had poured ceaselessly into the regions of Sung P'an in northwest Szechwan, and up into Kokonor, Shensi, and Kansu Provinces. Srong-btsan sgam-po, who had united the T'u-fan tribes into a nation, died in 650. He is credited with having initiated his subjects in Buddhism and in the Indian and Chinese civilizations.[7] Three times, in 730, 783, and 821, the Tang emperors had made treaties with the T'u-fan, fixing the limits of both empires.[8] The text of the last treaty, chiseled on a slab, is still preserved in Lhasa.[9] In Huangchung, in the village of Topa, 60 li west of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 7) and northwest of the city of Tatung (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17) still exist steles fixing the western limits of Huangchung. The texts are now indecipherable, except for a few characters.

The T'u-fan hordes smote upon the region of Sung P'an, in northwest Szechwan, the cradle of the Tibetan Tang-hsiang tribes. In 627 two groups of Tang-hsiang tribes, for fear of the invaders, fled to East Kansu. One group, called Tung-shan-pu, settled in the region of the modern Ch'ing-yang fu in East Kansu; the other group, called P'ing-hsia-pu, settled in the region of Mi Chih, in northwest Shensi. The leading tribe of the last group was the Topa, formerly pressed by the T'u-fan, which had submitted to the T'u-yu-hun.[10]

The P'ing-hsia-pu tribes of Shensi, during the revolt of Nan Lu Shan (756–764), had helped save the tottering throne of the Tang dynasty. Their chief had been rewarded with the name of the dynasty, Li, and the administration of some districts had been granted to the group. During the internal troubles which several times beset the empire, the P'ing-hsia-pu group had laid the foundation of its own Hsi Hsia Kingdom, and from 982 on it had considered itself strong enough to antagonize the Sung dynasty (960–1280), openly embarking on the conquest of Kansu and Shensi Provinces. The Hsi Hsia realm vanished at the hands of the Mongols in 1226.[11] Not only did these groups of Tang-hsiang tribes submit to China but, in A.D. 631, 300,000 more Tang-hsiang surrendered, pressed by the T'u-fan, and were settled in East Kansu and on the Shensi borders, where sixteen districts were established by the emperor in the countries assigned to them, garrisons established, and Chinese military officials appointed (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 53*a*).

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 373.

[8] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 437, 480, 484.

[9] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 484. Li Fan-koei. Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treaty 821–822. *T'oung Pao* 64: 1 sq., 1956.

[10] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 132. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia. *Bulletin Ecole Française Extrême Orient* 44: 223. Paris, 1950. Peter Olbricht, Die Tanguten und ihre Geschichte bis zur Grundung von Si-hia. *Central Asiatic Journal* 2: 143. The T'opa founders of the Hsi Hsia might be of Sien-pi origin. 154.

[11] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 133, 134.

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mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple.

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

It is worth noticing that in the description of the opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples.

In the *Annals* of Hsining (15 : 2*b*), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,[30] the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals* of Hsining 31B : 2*a–b*, 3*a*, 33*a*).

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I overlooked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study. It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo,

[30] Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

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seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[31] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[32] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[33] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li-ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in

[31] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[32] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[33] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

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with troops (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 6*b*) who, in concert with the t'u-ssu troops, exterminated the groups of brigands still roaming in the country without chiefs, and they induced the rebel Tibetan tribes to surrender. The commanders started repairing the cities, villages and fortresses in Huangchung.

In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng was appointed commander in Chuang Lang by the Manchu Prince Su and given the title of Piao-ch'i Chiang-chun. At that time groups of brigands plundered the country of Sung Shan I north of Chuang Lang. The son of T'u-ssu Ch'eng pursued and exterminated them and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

However, the Chinese abhorred and hated the uncouth Manchu barbarians. Many among the governors and commanders could not resist the temptation of espousing the cause of the crumbled dynasty. The opposition would last for eighteen years before the entire empire would be conquered by the Manchus. Several times their empire met precarious circumstances, but party intrigues and jealousies among the Chinese divided them, and never could they offer a permanent united front against the conquerors.

The whereabouts of the heir apparent to the Ming throne being unknown, several princes of the imperial family arose in the provinces and tried to restore the dynasty. Prince Kuei succeeded in the formation in Kiangsi Province of a coalition of governors and military commanders, and the news spread like a prairie fire over the entire empire. Several governors and commanders in north China who had surrendered at the arrival of the Manchu troops, waited for the signal of the general uprising. A storm was brewing even in the remote northern region of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Two chiefs of the Mohammedan colony of Kanchow, Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, started the revolt against the Ch'ing dynasty (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). They joined the group of Chou Shih-chuan, a scion of the Ming princes, and enrolled as many Tibetans and brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng as possible. The Chinese officials of Kanchow and Liangchow followed in their wake.[88]

At the end of the Ming dynasty in North Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, in nearly all the important cities and villages along the trade routes, colonies of Mohammedans were established, having their mosques and religious leaders who were obeyed and honored by their people. Meng Ch'iao-fang, conversant with this situation, informed the emperor about his apprehensions concerning the participation of the Mohammedans in the revolt. He wrote that an order issued by their religious chiefs would suffice to enroll all the Mohammedans of Kansu in the insurrection, and then he indicated the cities and villages in Kansu where the most important groups of Mohammedans existed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1*a–b;* 34: 1*b*, 2*b*).

[88] E. H. Parker, Kansu Mussulmans, *China Review* 16: 335, 1887.

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The power of the lamas consisted in the number of their subject tribes and their expansive territorial possessions. Their properties were confiscated, and their subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials, liable to their corvees, and subject to their land taxes. The revolt had ruined forever the power of the lamas. Then followed a lot more regulations (Monguors II: 34, 49).

However, nothing was changed in the regime of the Monguor institution. Their extensive properties remained intact, and their subjects continued under the administration of their t'u-ssu, because they had been faithful for centuries to the empire, and because this time their support had been of untold value to the army. Even T'u-ssu Lu was especially rewarded for his services, and received more new subjects: the 8 Tibetan villages in the Cho Tzu Shan region, which had belonged to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor, numbering 453 families, totaling 2,365 persons (Monguors I: 33).

This terrible revolt, which had threatened the very existence of Huangchung as part of Kansu Province and the empire, ended with the annexation of Kokonor to the empire, the ruin of the lama institution in Huangchung, and the stabilization of the regime of the t'u-ssu and Monguors in Huangchung. Thanks to the connivance of the Huangchung lamas and Tibetans with the Kokonor Khoshots, all of them seethed with hatred against the empire.

In 1725, the revolt having been quelled, the commandery of Hsining became a prefecture and the So of Nienpei a subprefecture. According to one of the thirteen articles in the memorandum, presented to the throne by the Governor General, Nien Keng-yao, the building was started of three cities in the northern valley of Hsining, in Tatung, in Pe-ta, and in Yung Nan, which countries formerly belonged to the Kokonor Khoshots. Garrisons were appointed in order to forestall inroads of nomads and Jungars, and to provide easy communications between the two cities of Kanchow and Hsining. Tatung became a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 21*b*).

It had been noted that in 1647 after the defeat of the Mohammedans of Kanchow on the Tatung River, trying to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to follow them in the revolt, Chinese of Kanchow who had participated in the expedition dared not return to their original countries, but settled in the extensive pastures of Tatung and Pe-ta, recognized the lordship of the Mongol proprietors and started farming and building houses. It has been noted also that in 1693, after fifty years, the assistant commander of Hsining, T'u-ssu Li Hsia, had reported that already more than 10,000 families were living there. The census of 1730 noted that the population of these settlements, started in 1647, was composed of Chinese, Monguors, Mohammedans, and Tibetans, living in twenty-two villages. The population of two villages was entirely composed of Chinese,

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one entirely of Tibetans, four completely of Monguors, one entirely of Mohammedans originating from Liangchow, one entirely of Mohammedans from Ho Chou, three occupied by Chinese and Mohammedans together, two by Chinese and Tibetans together, four by Chinese and Monguors, and four by Chinese, Mohammedans and Tibetans (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 15a–*b*).

During these ninety years all these people had abandoned their original homes hoping to enjoy more peace in this lonely country. They had developed the country and made possible the building of the two cities of Tatung and Pe-ta. Before that time the northern valley of Hsining was cultivated only as far as the fortress of Hsin Ch'eng, situated 70 li north of Hsining, where a great wall marked the boundaries between Hsining and Kokonor.

In 1726 the newly appointed Governor of Kokonor, Ta Ting, started with a big retinue of officials and soldiers to visit all the Tibetan tribes of Huangchung, East Kansu, and Kokonor, depending upon the Khoshot princes and the lamas, taking the census of the people and the herds of each tribe, appointing in each tribe the chief they desired, notifying them that they depended from now on upon the Chinese officials. He fixed the tribute each tribe was to pay yearly, and informed them that all the taxes formerly paid to the princes and lamas, the *t'ien pa* tax, and the incense offering required yearly by the Dalai Lama in Lhasa were abolished. He allotted to each tribe a territory clearly defined, and handed it the deed officially sealed.

Now an idea can be had about the power of the princes of Kokonor. The governor had to travel as far at Tatung, Kuei Te, Ho Chou, and T'ao Chou in East Kansu, and to Chuang Lang and Liangchow where Tibetan tribes lived, depending upon the princes. The Khoshot Ku Shih-han in 1636 had conquered Kokonor and all the Tibetan tribes of that country, and those formerly dependent upon the Mongols, which later had fled far away from them. They pursued them as far as T'ao Chou and Ho Chou and so they became their subjects again. This had happened at the end of the Ming dynasty and during the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty when China could not care for these countries on account of the troubled conditions. However, Ku Shih-han had been recognized by the Manchu dynasty as chief of Kokonor. In 1642–1644 Ku Shih-han conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama who immediately sent lamas to collect *t'ien pa* and incense offerings from the tribes, which normally had to pay a tax to the princes also. During these times the Khoshots had even been able to receive the submission of Tibetan tribes living as far as Cho Tze Shan, situated inside the prefecture of Chuang Lang, and of the tribes living in the mountains south of Ku Lang, Liangchow, and Yung Ch'ang. This gives an idea about the number of people and warriors they had been able to call to arms in 1723–1724 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

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